

634 that Flores is a hard place to be any kind of
578 a ruler in because of the feuds between chiefs
[648] and radjas of all grades. The Dutch complicated matters by changing land borders, putting favorites in offices instead of proper candidates, and altering the borders of petty states. Thus at one time Sikka was a much larger territory, but then Ende was made independent and after that Lio split off from it, and Ndonga made a further split. The same thing happened in Flores as in Ambon formerly: the weaker chiefs were raised up and the stronger ones were lowered. Later on, in Roworeke, I heard much about this and how often after a split or a revision of frontiers or putting in an improper man, the people would rebel either passively or actively, and the Dutch would come and tie ropes around the people's necks and take them off to jail. I was told that whole populations might be thus taken in. Thus, one man said, the people finally became very much afraid and did not dare to disobey the rules of the government. Hence there are plenty of old scores and sores here. Now I understand why Riekerk said I must not get mixed up in the feuds of the Flores chiefs.

634 Anyway, there was also a Radja of Adonara on
142 board. He looked rather Ambonese, dark with wavy and almost kinky hair and a bony Papuan face. He was rather short too. He spoke a little English and seemed more intelligent than the others. This was a surprise as I have regarded Adonara as a really primitive area. The Radja of Larantuka, who the Controleur Ariens later told me was next to Sikka in power and prestige, seemed to be shy and dopy and rather moody. He has rather light skin and is very dolichocephalic with his head running to a kind of long cone in the rear. He has kinky hair which grows down on either side brow. The Radja

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632 really most powerful man in Ende is not the Radja but the fat and rather fresh hadji kapitan of Nggobe (a descendant evidently of the age-old tuan tanah Ambu Nggobe, the ancestor of Ende). Anyway the talk went well and I settled down to getting some basic facts.

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648 The border between Ende and Ndonga, which is part of the state of Lio, is along the road in front of the kapitan's house. On the other side, in Lio, is Watu Roga. These are really twin kampongs, and there is much intermarriage, and the clans are all intertwined. That is, the Watu Roga are really Endenese, and the border should be at the river Ndonga behind Watu Roga. Behind this there is a natural boundary between Ende and Lio, a high ridge. But the Dutch for some reason in 1924 cut Watu Roga away from Ende by moving the border a few hundred feet west and along the road. The people of Watu Roga were recalcitrant and would not follow the Lio radja, but the Dutch came and tied ropes around their necks and hauled them off to jail. They finally gave in, but they still feel more like Endenese. This explains why the fellow yesterday said that the Watu Roga folk are in Lio and the Roworeke folk are in Ende. This is true in administration, but socially they are both Endenese. The kapitan of Rewarangga (the one in Roworeke), however, should be kapitan of Watu Roga too, but he isn't, and the latter kampung falls within the kapitanschap of Ndonga, far off and under the Lio radja. This is mad on any grounds, including social, cultural, and personal feelings of the local people.

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632 Anyway, I found that Ende has nine kapitanschapen: Gunung Rodja (the southern half of Ende town), Nggobe (the northern half of Ende town), Barai, Rukuramba, Numba, Nangapandan, Tangadje, Pulo Ende (the island in the bay) and Rewarangga. This last is the kapitanschap here, and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

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614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be [791] ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are
171 called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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[585] exactly the same rates and all moves are the
[585] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given
by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 I note on the map that place names recur
614 often all over Manggarai, especially not far
away. These are clan names, which are given
to kampongs founded by split offs from the
mother kampung. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud
of this Minangkabau story while at the same
time it may harm them in light of Manggarai
nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes
says that when the Dutch were trying to select
a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they
thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not
a contented area and that the people there
wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch
chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime
kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is
that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around
Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle
under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may
see a possible chance of paying off old scores.
This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where
self-governing setups led to exploitation of
lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may
try to raise themselves up to a parity level
and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put
in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak
Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask
questions, and they will reply without first go-
ing through a translator. However, the reply

^ [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Every-

243 where around the earthen plaza there are corn
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the cen-
ter of the plaza was a finely carved peo with
shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
[181] oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the govern-
ment, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and
his cronies are taking everything. There is
only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rear-
anga). He said the great majority of gemeente
Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed
from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

819 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608. The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
addition, he married in.

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● 648 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
656 since then there have been no wars.

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he
married locally and this helps. (I think he
married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers,
Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four
(mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and
it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke
is newer, and it is the administrative center,
where the kapitan lives. Here also, however,
is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two
were one kampong. In the kampong, the section
or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there
the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is lo-
cated. It is the adat center. There also is
the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village,
and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives.
Thus it is the administrative center. Still,
the ata nggaah nua, the adat kepala kampong
(Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative
kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to
the road. Thus there is a general pattern here
that in each district there is a kind of
original kampong, and in each kampong there is
a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a
constellation arrangement as in Toradja coun-
try, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread
out from the center like a star. This is
truer of the kampongs than of the districts,
because the latter here are coming to be more
and more a coming together of independent
kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

208 We Today there are more meetings and greater
634 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
178 is especially so since this Radja came in about
663 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
648 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja
gets around to more areas now. (We noted that
the Radja is making a good-will tour, and prob-
ably all of them are scared of another Java.)
He said that there is a much closer arrangement
between the radja and the people now. Formerly
the Dutch and the radjas worked together very
closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply
jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the
Dutch here until the end used the jail as the
solution for everything. They wouldn't listen
to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work
together the result is tyranny, and it is real
here.

There is more justice here now, they say.
They say this began about eleven years ago with
the present Radja. But this may be out of re-
spect, and they admit that the real change has
taken place here since the war. The war really
liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of
brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ances-
[152] tral punishment. If they do not obey, they
become sick and have misfortunes. The magical
power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits,
but it is funneled through the magic stones of
authority too. The curse power of an adat chief
is very great. The power of the purely adminis-
trative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong,
who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is
that of the police, etc. This is actually not
so because all of the chiefs are of the proper
succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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186 This may come later. The truth seems to be that they are not "Flores-conscious" or "Larantuka-conscious."

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798 Indeed, the only slight flare of criticism of any other section or group on Flores was Roy's statement that the Mohammedans cause a bit of trouble (but this seems to be a fear or perhaps a recognized resemblance to the previous troubles here; for example, see the history of the Mohammedan attacks on Christian settlements in Flores). They are singularly mild on all this, especially when contrasted with Ambon and the chronic "grippers" there.

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681 The people here all knew that they were a subject group. Although they were not happy, there was no revolutionary spirit. There was some secret criticism, and everyone was sure that it would be better to be free. Roy said that one impressive thing was that the people disliked the coarse quality of the Dutch, and he said that there was too much of the "god verdomme" stuff. He imitated a coarse Dutchman swearing at the natives. And in the prewar period, all the people here would gladly have seen every single Dutchman leave, except the pastors. They liked the latter, but hated the officials. A sore point, of course, was that of taxation, but they also hated the summary way they were so easily put in jail. He keeps on saying how if a man tried to press his case with the Dutch, the latter just waved his hand and said, "To the bui with him."

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609 When the guru had his famous case concerning the land, and the kepala kampong was put in jail because Roy and he would not sign the paper, twenty soldiers surrounded his house. The kampong people were so angry that they wanted to start a battle then and there. Roy dissuaded them, however, and then offered to pay a fine in order to release the kepala kampong. The

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648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the
Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the
idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch
here, but that the people were so scared that
there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the
Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted,
but when many of them were sent to jail, they
gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the
rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It
came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is
no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone.
They really hated the Dutch except the pastors.
The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to
have impressed the folk here very much. There
were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch,
and in fact I think this was the previous line
of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is
why there was great muttering yesterday when I
told of the population of Holland. They regarded
the Queen as their Radja, because her head was
on the money. This is an illustration of the
primitive political views here. They also saw
that the Larantuka radja was well under the
Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in
regard to religion. This is a good example of
how religion rides in on the advanced culture's
material strength. They indeed have more power-
ful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to
have been the wedge. Then the schools would come
in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

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797 and the price the outsiders ask is giving up
177 the old religion.

829 The people know nothing about other lands
565 and certainly nothing about their governments.
However, they know the names of other countries
and a bit about the roles they play in world
events. I asked if they knew about demokrasi,
and he said that the word is used all over here
now, although it is brand new. They don't know
what it means. He says that they tend to think
that it means a kind of anarchy where anyone
can take anything, with no respect for rank. I
wonder if maybe in this thoroughly ordered and
stratified place, where inherited rank and in-
equality prevails (rank, class, ritual, respect,
etc.), and indeed exists in the very heart of
the society, whether when they first heard that
democracy meant that all people were equal, this
did not sound like anarchy, as they could not
imagine an ordered world where there was no rank.

829 They know nothing about the actual facts of
648 the United Nations, but they have heard plenty
about the "Kumpulan Medja Bundar". [Round Table
Conference]. This all came out when they saw
the red and white flag and asked what all of
this was about. They got the story that there
was the Round Table Conference, and that at it
Indonesia became free and this was the new flag.
The flag was the symbol that produced the story.
They also have heard a lot about the United States
and that it helped in obtaining Indonesian freedom
(perhaps we managed to salvage some touted good
will in Indonesia). Beyond this, however, they
know nothing of world politics. They did know
about the Allies (Bangsa Serikat; Kattenburg
says "Pemerintah Serikat"), as they were partly
involved in the war. They think that this union,
and especially the United States, beat the Jap-
anese. When asked if the Dutch helped, Roy said
that they have no thought on this matter, as

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829 they only saw them run away when the Japanese
● (648) came in. He then said something which was quite
interesting: that it is not hard for even the
illiterates here to understand the government
of any land in the world, as they have had so
much experience with a system of government
here. All they have to do is imagine the alien
organization in terms of their own political
organization.

875 As for information spread about in regard to
203 politics and current events, Roy says that the
guru do a lot of this. The people ask them
questions, and they are really big men.

521 The people here do not talk much about poli-
829 tics. Even when they had the big day of cele-
brating independence and the flag was flown,
after the main information about the Round Table
Conference was out, the people began to talk
about their gardens, etc. They know about
Sukarno, because his picture is everywhere [the
Hitler theme?]. The thing which really settled
[798] the rumor that the red and white flag is that of
Islam was Sukarno's speech that all religions
were free. Priests must have publicized this.

829 The local people know that Java is the center
203 of all Indonesia, but there is little talk about
521 this yet. Roy sees the importance in this of
the complete absence of movies, radio, and the
relative absence of papers. If the people had
these, they would talk more (as do the backward
Buginese who see movies of other lands and are
curious about them).

794 Roy says that Catholicism does not mix itself
665 up with politics here at all. When elections
are held, the priest says in church that they
must be sure to choose the right man. At least,
he insists that the church is not involved in
politics. I tried to press Roy by telling him
how the church tried to get another radja for
Manggarai, because the present one, although

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829 that the big radja here is in Ende, and that's all.

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[197] The general attitude toward the Dutch has always been one of fear. This is not a specific fear and is not equivalent to the resentment one sees in Larantuka caused by stern rule and frequent jailing. He says that the real reason is that they do not know what they fear, and they can't even talk with or understand the Dutch. The Dutch speak only Malay, and few of the local people here speak Malay. They just tried to avoid the Dutch, and that was easy. As the status of Malay began to rise, there was a bit of a change among the young people, but there was little thought about or contact with or talk concerning the Dutch at any time.

What I have just said is even more true of the mountain areas. Whenever aliens come into the neighborhood they just run away. Thus when Migo goes there for tax work, he sees only the kepala kampong, unless he lures the adat chiefs with tobacco, and other presents. I asked him why he was afraid. After all, he could speak their language. Then he shifted ground and said nothing specific, and stated that they do not even fear taxes, but they have the attitude that any outsider should be avoided.

[515] Also, he says that they are so dirty in the mountains that they are ashamed to meet outsiders. (If this is so, they at least are conscious of dirt.) Their clothes are bad and dirty, and they never bathe. The women and children are especially filthy. He says it is too cold in the mountains to bathe. The water is especially cold, even in midday. This is a queer business.

771 Religion does not mix in with politics here. There is no trouble with Mohammedanism either. They don't talk much about such things. Even

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a travelling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

443 Then I went on to Larantuka, where the pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.

515 This time the place was full of medicine
514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling into ruin. I noted on my way that the tele-
206 graph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I
491 found the wire still down. The bridges will never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

377 I am glad I shall be leaving this truly
181 forsaken island before long. It gets on one's nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

124 Larantuka: I spent a final three days in Leloba finishing up the schedule on Wailolong, and it was lucky I did this, because, as usual, my assistants (the same everywhere in Indonesia so far, except in Makassar) did not finish the answers. They did do the census and the map. Anyway, I got onto the schedule at once, covering old spots which were not filled in yet, and finishing what was left undone.

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648 In 1913 the Dutch forced the people to move
361 down from the old hill location to the present location of Wailolong. Formerly, it was located one-half kilometer from Leloba. Then, in 1922, it was allowed to move back, but it moved not all the way back to its former location, but only as far as it is now. This whole business is typical of the Dutch administration in the worst days, when, for the sake of "peace, order, and taxes," and for all I know, the mission, they made these poor people move out of the

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361 hills and down to the coast. This caused much
[648] malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And
after many years, the Dutch let them move up
higher again, having stopped the spirit of
revolt. (One can find this very expression
in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into
Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka
(note that several Leloba families have moved
there too). Balela is a little uphill, and
perhaps this is the reason for the movement.
I also think that it may have some relations
with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway,
of these five families, only one has moved
back to Wailolong. They simply do not move
very much.

443 No one, but no one, has moved into the kam-
438 pong, except for women marrying in (and the
[166] two gurus). There are no toko or shops in
Wailolong. They do not even have warong here.
The women come from the beach area to sell and
buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to
sell fish). These women come from such places
as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not
much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other
kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some
old people who have never seen Larantuka town,
or at least that is what he thinks.

167 Only two people that he knows have left
Wailolong to work in some other place. One of
them at least went to Borneo. As yet they
have not returned.

697 Roy said that all who have been to jail have
648 seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see
the world. There is real bitterness here about
the jail business, and I hear it cropping up
648 constantly. The Dutch really ruled here with
an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say,
whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

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648 controleur around 1931, when the radja also was an unfit person.

167 I was surprised when he said that just about all the young men here would like to leave and see the world. But they have almost no chance. If they did have such an opportunity, there would be a great exodus here.

721 The only great fear in the old days was warfare, and this is an intermittent danger today
152 also. Thus, Leloba was at war with Waibalun last month, and it is feared even to walk near there. He admits that there was some fear of bad spirits formerly, but this was relatively not so bad. Still, my guess is that there are few people who are brave enough to go and sleep in other places.

20 The kakang has a telephone in his office. The only telegraph here is in Larantuka. There is no postal service. Letters must be gotten at the Larantuka Post Office. There is no radio here, and hardly anyone has ever heard one.

The mandur of the kakang transmits important orders from the administration. Rumor is very important as a means of communication, but there is practically no other means here.

The few who receive or read the mission newspaper are asked about what is in the paper. Bulletins are never posted. They see them only in Larantuka town.

443 There are a few women who come here to buy
438 and sell some items. The small market at Okka, crossroad on the beach is held once a week, on Tuesday, in the afternoon and until Wednesday. There used to be another market on the beach at Delang.

However, there is no market system here. Roy says they simply have too little surplus to sell, and nearly nothing to buy with. In Adonara, which is richer, there is a regular pasar ring system.



565 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng
614 va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u,
e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang,
i.e., Todo.

The history may be something like this:

174 (1) Originally, and until about three hundred
621 years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district
565 chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

634 (2) About three hundred years ago until 1900:
648 the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with
also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa)
and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch
influence, the latter putting in the East Indo-
nesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the
Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well
as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area
is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja).
What will happen?

582 I checked over the marriages in Veol and
614 Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of
the inmarrying women. However, it looks as
though there is no pattern. Looking only at
the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can
find just about no system; the twenty-seven
women who married men of Veol came from twenty
different kampongs (highest frequency was three).
The four men who married women of Veol and came
here to live are from three kampongs (highest
frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of
Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest fre-
quency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

Wa.

621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There
are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu
Tjibal, and these are closer than the other
non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others
in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even
though a family has lived for a long time in
another kampong and has few close acquaintances
any more in the old kampong, the bond is still
closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
of residence. This shows that residence is
[571] less important here than blood. Still, as pro-
pinquity makes for marriages, there is a ten-
dency for a family to establish new marriage
relations in the place of residence. Thus it
is either the consanguineal or the affinal
group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other
tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.

578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help.
They could also call on the vina-rona families,
i.e., the affinal relatives. These might re-
fuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and
usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except
for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity re-
mained between these two places. Thus the wars
were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu,
not kampong against kampong, although they
might start that way. And in this area, most
of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu
or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be
quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile
Bima lost. On the border there were many wars
against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

W. J.

622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have
gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also,
there have been kepala kampongs since then.
The organization runs as follows: Kampong:
tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan
mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some
kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and
kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use
"tenu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus
it is not "tu'a tenu gelarang"), and the kam-
pongs below him are included. There is no
council, and there are no scribes, secretaries,
oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually
almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this
is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both
Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol
are in other areas, while, for example, a branch
of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas,
mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no
council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now
empty since the former one died), secretary,
oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again
there is no council and no ministry. However,
there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chair-
man used to be the radja bitjara, but now he
is the radja's younger brother. The members,
chosen by the radja, are four in number. At
present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang
Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda,
and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong,
gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to
the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

Wa

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional admin-
istration. Bima was out, and this may be why
there is not so much feeling against the Dutch
here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says,
however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used
to have magic power (another sign of Makassar
or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power.
The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako
is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu,
always from his family, I suppose. The kepala
kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding
out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these
are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The
tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house
with influence. He is usually the oldest.
This position is non-hereditary and is evident-
ly a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary,
with the only exceptions those of the new kepala
kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the
obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elec-
ted at large, but by electoral districts.
There are five districts named according to
the place where the electors meet:

- (1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
- (2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
- (3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

Wv

634 They said no, but that there was much free talk
646 against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 All hereditary posts are genealogically
646 linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still
624 old illiterates. Parliament members are
888 mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates,
therefore). Age is of no concern for the her-
editary posts, as one person merely succeeds
to the post after another. In the kampong,
however, the old men have the most influence,
and the young people keep their mouths shut for
the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until
now women took no part in elections, but they
may change things here.

829 There is still only a very restricted poli-
666 tical horizon here, and there is little know-
ledge about such things. But at least they
have elections. This is very important. They
start with an election. As they say in Celebes,
[64] they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the
[632] gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu,
and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They
think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in
Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond
this they know practically nothing about the
daerah, negara, etc.

• 648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch
were all right and they were too uninformed to
criticize them. Also, it must be remembered
that they had been under the rule of Bima, and
the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did
not even criticize the Japanese! They were sim-
ply not concerned. The great memory here is of
Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows
of things and people who are Dutch only by name.
Formerly they knew the local civil servants
only slightly. They were always afraid of any
new men who came here. This is true of my